1: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

pose should remain continent for several nights to increase his generative powers. He then selects a time for beginning the rite and on the second and fourth nights from that date sleeps with his wife, holding intercourse repeatedly and vigorously until he is utterly exhausted. Before dawn on the third and fifth days he must wash in the river or in some quiet stream. Then follow four nights of restraint, a further intercourse, and washing before dawn. The period is next increased to eight nights, then twelve, and finally sixteen, each with a similar contact and bathing. The nights of abstinence are thus forty in all, a lucky number. An unmarried man can obtain power in the same manner with the assistance of a female friend; it is the act itself that is vital, not the union of husband and wife.

At the present time, only two Bella Coola are said to know this particular type of ceremonial chastity, which they conceal carefully, even refusing offers to buy their knowledge. It is potent at any time, but especially if the periods of continence have been so arranged that they terminate at one of the solstices. Then, indeed, can a hunter set off with every prospect of success, knowing that the human taint disliked by animals has been removed, and been replaced by a ceremonial cleanliness pleasing to them. If the time terminates at the winter solstice, the hunter should set out immediately; if it ends in June, he must remain away from women after his final intercourse. In September or October, when ready to leave for the hunt, he must sleep beside his wife for the last four nights; each night he must place his leg between hers, and each morning the two must wash together. The best fortune of all is obtained by a man who observes this forty-night period for four successive years.

Another, and more common, count[34] is to observe continence for four nights, followed by intercourse. Immediately afterwards, the man should eat as much devil's club[35] as pos-

[34] The record of nights is kept by notches cut in a stick or by knots on a cord.

[35] Or false hellebore. This latter plant is thought to be so poisonous that the eating of even a twig an inch in length is fatal; a very small amount, however, all that is ever taken, acts as a powerful emetic.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

881 bundle of four macaroni-shaped shells, probably *Dentalium*, [301] which are said to have been imported from the north in early 439 times. These marks serve to indicate the position of the girl, who is both feared and respected, possessed of supernatural 789 power, and yet baneful. Many Bella Coola stories describe how adolescent girls have been able to vanquish supernatural [538] beings; perhaps the most striking of these is the manner in which they once saved mankind when the sun came too close to the earth. At the end of a year, or eleven months according to one old woman, the seclusion is terminated, and the girl resumes her normal activities. The first time she goes to the river she must throw on the water four pieces of dyed, and four pieces of undyed cedar-bark. This is especially important if the salmon are running at the time, although no explanation of this ritual is given.

582 The resumption of her freedom indicates that a girl has 556 reached marriageable age. Chiefs sometimes confine their daughters for even longer than a year, and usually delay their 882 marriages for several years to demonstrate their importance; but this is not necessary, nor is it practised by other than wealthy individuals. It is not uncommon for a girl to wed before her year is out; in that case her restrictions automatically [554] lapse. Chiefs never allow such a curtailment for their daughters; to do so would diminish the prestige of the latter, and be detrimental to the status of their children when they marry 836 and have families. Illicit intercourse with a secluded adolescent is considered not only illegal but disgusting as well. Be- 883 tween the period of confinement and marriage, intercourse is [881] prohibited and guarded against by the parents of a girl, but is not considered filthy and seems to have been fairly common in former times with the daughters of poor people and slaves. This sometimes took place before the first menstruation in spite of the disapproval with which this was regarded.

826 Although the menstrual blood which appears at the first 841 discharge is considered more baneful than that emitted on later occasions, it is always regarded as uncanny or unclean. It is 789

1: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

than the presents just given by X's relatives, though occasionally they may exceed them. Y's father, or a herald, or an eloquent friend on his behalf, speaks to the following effect: 583 584

"Be bold. Henceforth you will have to work a very long time for us. We will let you know when we need your services."

The significance of this speech lies in the fact that X, and to a certain extent his relatives, are expected to perform almost menial tasks for Y's father during the period of engagement, which has now been duly ratified. X's father and his followers now leave Y's house. It is immaterial whether or not X and Y themselves have been present. It is important that this formal acknowledgment of the engagement should take place during the day; otherwise any children resulting from the marriage could be shamed by having it said to them: "Your parents were not married in the open light of day." [858]

For a varying length of time X now acts almost as a servant to Y's father. He does not live with her family, but he cuts wood, draws water, and performs other menial tasks. Whenever a member of X's family gives a ceremony, he takes care to give lavish presents to Y's relatives. If it is impossible to hold a sacred rite, X's father is at least expected to invite Y's family to a ceremonial feast, and also to share with them any game that he may kill. Meanwhile, X and Y are not subject to any restrictions as to seeing each other. In theory if they should cohabit it would "spoil" the engagement, but in most cases when this occurs, as it often does, the matter is simply hushed up. [836]

Children whose parents were long engaged are said to be "heavy"; their entry into life having been prepared with careful thought and due ceremony, so that their limbs are clear to travel with success to the position of chief. When such a child is born, the relatives are eager to call their fellow-villagers to confer a name soon after birth, and the infant starts life with this advantage. There is no specific length of time for engagements; if X and Y are the children of influential chiefs, the 584 [858] [553]

1: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

837 [839] faithful and cases of rape were either unknown or very rare. The daughters of chiefs, too, were guarded with great care and 622 any effort to seduce one of them would be punished by her 836 father. The parents of a girl used to watch her carefully, and the opportunity for immorality was not great in the days when everyone went to bed at sundown except on the occasion of a ceremonial dance. As one informant described it:

"The daughters of chiefs used to be looked after as if they were in boxes, cherished and guarded by their parents and relatives. No one would dream of molesting them. And a chief's daughter used to be proud and look after herself. Nowadays, girls don't care, and everything has become degraded."

[586] If the daughter of a chief did demean herself, the parents lost interest in her, as one who was spoilt. It was always assumed that a girl of rank was a virgin at marriage, and if it was discovered that she had been living an immoral life, her husband in many cases returned her in disgrace to her parents who, equally shamed, were expected to send back to him the 622 goods he had expended for their daughter. Loss of virtue was 848 judged only from indirect information. If the daughter of a chief was found pregnant before marriage, she was almost ostracized by her family. No ceremonial marriage could be arranged for her, and the child could not be cleansed from the stigma of illegitimacy.

836 On the other hand, it appears certain that there was a good 567 deal of intercourse in the old days between chiefs and slave women, or even between slaves and the daughters of chiefs. [431] In the latter case the woman was often cast aside by her relatives though they sometimes yielded to the inevitable and tried to wash away the disgrace with gifts. At the same time, public opinion was unfavourable to a man who consorted with many women, or to a woman who allowed herself to be at the disposal of many men. Any regular union of masters with their slave women for the deliberate purpose of having children was unknown. A girl's consent was always necessary, given either personally or through an intermediary. Even a chief hesitated

1: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

to force his attentions on a slave woman if she objected, although her refusal would be most unusual on account of his prestige. There were no professional prostitutes; a man usually gave a small present to a girl from whom he had received favours, and she was expected to give him a little, dainty basket filled with undyed cedar-bark to use as a sponge. Such relations appear always to have been of common occurrence. Today, as formerly, a man's morality is considered to be his own affair; laxity may lower his prestige, but no law is broken, and his neighbours laugh and chaff him about it. In fact, sexual matters are discussed with the greatest freedom, and a person who has been caught is mocked mercilessly. When visiting a foreign tribe, a man sometimes lives with a woman and, on parting, composes and sings a song describing her charms. One man did this after living with a Kitlobe woman, and on his return to Bella Coola found that some of his fellows had learnt it in some unexplained manner; they used to sing it to him, much to their amusement, in part to his own, and somewhat to the annoyance of his wife. This perhaps illustrates rather clearly the attitude of the Bella Coola to an infraction of morality—where no marriage rite has been broken; it is amusing rather than disgusting. There are no times when the moral code ceases to function. At potlatches, and also at *kusiut* dances, there appears always to have been a certain amount of laxity, although this was strictly prohibited within the house where the ceremony was taking place. Such behaviour is due to the excitement and stimulus of a large gathering, not to anything connected with the rites themselves.

Perverted sexual desires, like other matters connected with the relations of the sexes, are regarded as concerning the individual alone. Sodomy appears to be unknown. Intercourse by pre-adolescents is held to be disgusting, but carries with it no social ostracism. Incestuous union, however, is mildly anti-social; it exposes the offender to secret contempt, but does not interfere with his attainment of whatever position his wealth